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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Vol. I, No. 17 NEW YORK, N. Y., FEB. 7, 1949 10 Cents

The progressive press is in peril

A call to action now!

AS THIS issue goes to press, NATIONAL GUARDIAN faces a crisis which imperils its future.

Our printing house, for reasons we readily accept, has told us our credit is at an end. Our arrears in printing and other bills amount to some $15,000, which seems paltry to those familiar with publishing ventures, but which looks ominous to a sympathetic but marginal printing firm.

With our circulation increasing by many hundreds every week—and even as we add some 8,000 new Midwest readers because of the suspension of the *Illinois Standard* — NATIONAL GUARDIAN is now itself threatened with suspension.

NO PUBLICATION can become self-sustaining in less than a period of many months. But no so-called "progressive capitalist"—nor even a syndicate of the same—has come forward with enough capital to see us through these months, although literally hundreds have been approached.

One by one, the last manful remnants of a progressive American press are being forced to the wall: *New World* in the northwest, the *Standard* in Chicago, the liberal *N. Y. Star* (formerly *PM*) — and now NATIONAL GUARDIAN, in the face of the brightest prospects for success confronting any progressive publication in years.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN is published with painful economy. We went into publication on the strength of a few thousand dollars in advance pledges, some of which are still unredeemed. We have rejected costly promotion schemes. We have missed paydays rather than risk missing an issue.

We have existed thus far on circulation income and credit from our printer, who has been with us heart and soul but obviously can do us no good if he injures the stability of his own enterprise.

SUSPENSION of NATIONAL GUARDIAN would not only leave the Wallace-Progressive movement without a single sympathetic national publication.

It would force upon the American people a choice between the alternatives of only the Communist Party press on the left and the commercial press — overwhelmingly hostile to liberal American tradition — on the right.

The editors and staff of NATIONAL GUARDIAN do not propose to let this happen without a fight and without inviting our readers to join that fight. Therefore we place our situation squarely before you.

WE HAVE been publishing for three months and now some 25,000 people get the paper every week. Most publications count their reading public at two to three times their paid circulation.

Most of our circulation has been built by the readers themselves, out of conviction and live-wire activity among their acquaintances. It is to this convinced readership that we now speak.

WE HAVE intended from the outset to invite our readers into membership in Guardian Associate groups throughout the country, to help us over rough spots, to guide us editorially and to help enlarge our readership.

Now the pattern is right: we have a 48-state readership — 25% in New York, 75% in the other 47 states with a scattering in Hawaii, Alaska, Canada, Latin America and overseas.

We had hoped not to introduce this project in an atmosphere of crisis. But time will not wait.

Therefore we invite you now to join with us in the Guardian Associates. The "fee" is a pledge of your help now! — as much as you can afford to advance and as quickly as you can advance it.

If you become an Associate, every dollar of your pledge advanced now has double value. But even if you can do no more than send a penny postcard saying, "I want to be a Guardian Associate," it will give us an opportunity to communicate with you directly with a more detailed presentation of our problems and prospects than we care to make public now.

If every present GUARDIAN reader could advance $1 to this faith-founded and faith-built enterprise — right now, today — we could be sure of at least three months' more existence. During that time, at the present rate of gain, our circulation is virtually certain to pass 50,000. At that level we could be self-sustaining even without opening our columns to advertising. If one reader in ten would advance $10 now, we would have the same run for it. The same would result if one in every 25 readers could afford to advance $25 immediately — and did so.

ALL funds received in response to this appeal, and in the further organization of Guardian Associates, will be administered under the supervision of a board of prominent citizens. The board includes, among others:

Mary Van Kleeck, writer, lecturer, sociologist, ALP-Progressive candidate for N. Y. State Senator in 1948 — for 30 years (until her retirement last fall) director of industrial studies at Russell Sage Foundation;

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, eminent historian and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Under their guidance and with your immediate help we shall together assure the future of the GUARDIAN.

Among us we shall make certain that a voice will survive in the press of our country, speaking out without fear or reservation against hypocrisy and sham and for a world of peace, freedom and abundance.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc. 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y. Telephone WOrth 4-6390. Ten cents on newsstands—$4 a year by subscription. Application for entry as 2d class matter pending.

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Vol. I, No. 17 — 178 — FEB. 7, 1949

Report to the readers

Welcome, Chicago!

WITH this issue the NATIONAL GUARDIAN begins to reach many thousands of new readers in the Chicago-Midwest area who were subscribers to the **Illinois Standard.** To these new readers, the editors of the GUARDIAN present the statement of purpose which appeared in our first issue:

We believe that the world's greatest productive machine has been created in America by the people of America, out of their own resources; that monopoly's increasing grip on that machine threatens the security of farmer, small businessman and wage-earner alike; and that all these must combine to carry forward the greatest American political tradition—the battle against concentration of private power.

We believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people. . . .

It is the purpose of NATIONAL GUARDIAN'S editors to further these ideals by giving the inheritors of Franklin D. Roosevelt's America an uninterrupted flow of facts to fight with in the continuing battle for a better world.

THE editors of the GUARDIAN welcome the opportunity of reaching the **Standard**'s readers. We recognize that a national publication, however acceptable, cannot substitute for a community publication in every respect. Insofar as we are able with our present resources, we shall make every effort to preserve for our Chicago-Midwest readers the civic alertness and spunk which characterized the **Standard.**

As our readership grows sufficiently to enable expansion of the GUARDIAN, we hope to institute regional editions in which special news of various areas may be covered at greater length and in more variety. Until then we shall include special Chicago-Midwest coverage in our present single edition, beginning regularly [illegible] issue of Feb. 21, two weeks hence. Our Chicago correspondent will be Rod Holmgren, managing editor of the **Standard.**

WE hope sincerely that the **Standard** readers will stick with us and help us work toward our objectives—a nationwide readership, devoted to the principles enunciated herewith, and determined to strengthen and safeguard a voice in the American press which fights for those principles without equivocation or double-talk.

We ask the former readers of the **Standard** to help us—as the Guardian's readers have done so magnificently since our inception—to broaden our readership among their friends, associates and co-workers. We ask you to consider it your paper—yours to criticize, to improve, to correct and to write for (see Page 5).

The **GUARDIAN** costs $4 for 52 issues: the **Standard** cost $2. In accordance with postal regulations, the GUARDIAN will therefore fulfill all outstanding **Standard** subscriptions for half their present length unless we are instructed to do otherwise by the individual subscriber.

If for example your code includes the figures "4 30 49," you would have received the **Standard** through April 30, 1949, or 12 more issues. You will receive the GUARDIAN for half that period, or six more issues.

IF your **Standard** expiration date is earlier than that, you should renew your subscription immediately in order to continue receiving the GUARDIAN.

If you are one of our new readers from the **Standard,** please turn to Page 12 now and check on your subscription. If it is running out shortly and you want to receive the GUARDIAN regularly, clip out the corner of Page 12 containing your name and address and mail it to us. We will bill you for a year's subscription or for the period you indicate.

Many **Standard** subscribers were also GUARDIAN subscribers. These readers will have their subs. extended in the same proportion as above.

The job of checking two separate subscription lists against one another is quite involved and will take some time. Please notify us if you begin receiving two GUARDIANS weekly. We will immediately correct this and extend your GUARDIAN sub.

John T. McManus

THE MAILBAG

College—and fear

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As a student aide in an Eastern college one of my duties is to register leaves of absence by students. In the past year I have noticed an amazing increase in the number of students leaving school, and for financial reasons. Whether the "expected" recession is officially here or not students have felt the increasing expenses in fees, in books, and in school supplies as well as in the cost of living, and we who work for our expenses are alarmed.

Aside from the lack of financial security awaiting us when we leave school, there is another kind of fear constantly with us. Having been extremely active in the progressive movement in the college, I have noticed a growth of fear of the wrong kind in too many people—students and professors alike. The fear exists, not of the growing suppression and intimidation in this country, not of the dawning realization that Russo-American relations are being constantly strained and falsely so, not of the aggressive wars all over the world, and of the trial of ideas now occurring—but rather a fear to speak out against these symptoms of fascism, a fear of personal, individual insecurity when security today means the fortitude and courage of all of us.

It is up to us who are conscious of what to fear to help arouse the consciousness among our fellow citizens, and to remain ourselves conscious and unafraid of what must be done to preserve and extend democracy. There has long been a crying need for a publication to help us in our fight, a publication which is firm and yet conscious of the necessity for people of many political beliefs to work together for the benefit of all of us. I cannot overemphasize the importance to our morale your articles represent.

Being a student I feel strongly that students in the colleges all over the country are waging an important battle. In your limited space, would it be possible to print reports of the attempts, the failures, and the successes of college students to make their campuses aware of current danger?

I am keeping a library of GUARDIAN issues, which all my progressive friends know is available for reference. It has already proved very useful.

If you print this, please omit my name and the name of the college for publication. My job, of course, is at stake.

Anti-feudalism

COVINGTON, KY.

Being situated next to the most feudalistic part of the country—Southern Ohio, the stronghold of Sen. Taft—and having to read the press here, I would like to say that one of the greatest things that could have happened was the establishment of the GUARDIAN. I can assure you that I have begun to spread its worth to the people I come in contact with.

Dominic J. Belmonte

Federal wages

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As a government employee I would like to bring to your readers' attention the fact that it is most difficult to keep up with the cost of living on the present salaries of federal employees. Sixty per cent of federal workers are earning $2,900 a year or less, and we find that we are barely able to meet our daily expenses.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the minimum budget for a family of four is $3,347. This statement was made a year ago. Civil Service workers are not getting a decent standard of living above this minimum budget. Our pay has gone up only 4% since 1939. Certainly this rich country can afford to provide its public employees with a decent standard of living.

Therefore, the Federal Workers Union of the United Public Workers, CIO, has started a campaign for a wage increase of $1,100. We need $1,100 to get back to the same standard as 1939. We are trying to get a bill introduced in Congress calling for this wage increase within the next few months.

Let us see if the same Congressmen who promised to stand behind us last year for the bill that gave us a $300 raise instead of $600 still feel the same now that they are reelected.

Please withhold my name. I could be fired for being disloyal if my superiors found out I was writing to your paper.

Observation

Now that the white man has been relieved of some of his burden in different parts of the world, the dark man finds his burden much more bearable.

Alberto Mendez

Good suggestions

SEATTLE, WASH.

I hope you will find space for book and movie reviews. Perhaps reviews would take up space which might be devoted to material with more grass roots appeal, but there is another form of criticism which should appeal to a large variety of readers. If you read **Consumers Reports,** you will note that Eliot Noyes with his "Shape of Things" draws more reader comment than almost any other feature. Very basic and telling criticism of our Inflation Culture could be made through expert evaluation of housing, furniture, clothing, interior decoration and other expressions of our folk art. I could imagine a couple of good articles by Elizabeth Hawes on spring fashions.

A real addition to the paper, I think, could be made by calling on a woman like Elinor Gimbel or Miss Hawes to assemble a woman's section. The shopping column is fine, but could you also discuss books on child care? The role of the PTA in local politics? Specific action programs, such as a child health clinic (the University of Washington maintains one free for children of students and gets money from Veterans Administration and FSA I believe)? And we who have worked for better schools are constantly handicapped by a nagging feeling that we would not be able to offer a definite standard for curriculum if some one asked us. We need some expert opinion on what we should expect and demand of modern schools.

Mary E. Salvus

Never say die

SUPERIOR, WIS.

Though the paper is small at the present time, it is dynamite. That it can become a powerful factor in exposing the low state of our so-called free daily press is beyond contradiction.

I might add that I have been a progressive in this state for 28 years. I still believe in the third party and expect to remain a progressive forever. You know a real progressive never dies.

Merle Gibson

"I believe I've got it! It says GENTS"

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Why not get rid of this damn labor problem with a law cutting out wages altogether!"

Washington week

Labor takes its gloves off and wins a victory

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

ORGANIZED labor, which had been growing too gentlemanly to lodge a vulgar protest, made the amazing discovery this week that a well-timed squawk backed by millions of workers can bring results in Washington.

On Thursday, Jan. 27, Secretary of Labor Tobin was dotting the final "i's" on his proposed bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley law and re-enact the Wagner Act with some significant amendments. Labor was not too happy because CIO and AFL had been plugging in their gentlemanly way for a two package deal — flat repeal of Taft-Hartley first, then a thorough study and amendment of the Wagner Act of the kind that would stick.

Late Thursday afternoon word got out of the grey stone Labor Department building on Constitution Ave. that Tobin's bill not only was a one package deal, but that it proposed retention of injunction powers in "national emergencies" and called for compulsory arbitration.

GLOVES CAME OFF. Gentlemanliness collapsed in consternation. CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey and General Counsel Arthur Goldberg burned up the pavements between CIO headquarters and the Labor Department.

There was little suavity in their manner as they told Tobin if he presented that bill to the Senate Labor Committee the following morning they would testify against it, against him and against Truman.

This greatest of all Tobin's appearances for the Administration had been set for 10 a.m. next day in the big gilded marble caucus room of the Senate Office Building. At 9:30 a.m. Secretary Tobin phoned Chairman Elbert D. Thomas (D-Utah) of the committee and called the whole thing off. Instead Tobin went to a Cabinet meeting.

There the revolt of labor was a major topic. Finally Attorney General Clark told the Cabinet the President has emergency powers anyhow; that these powers, at least in times of high emotion, can be called on to quell strikes. So the injunction provision was allowed to go along with the rule for compulsory arbitration.

A smiling Tobin took the stand last Monday morning and presented the Administration's new labor bill. It contained no mention of compulsory arbitration. It restored the Norris-LaGuardia law and, in connection with national emergency strikes affecting the public interest, it breathed no word of enforcement.

Last Friday Truman agreed with Attorney General Clark that under the Constitution the President has power to stop strikes "affecting health and safety," and needs no specific authority from the labor bill.

HARMONY HALL. Two circumstances set off this incident in startling colors:

1. On the Wednesday preceding the showdown 12 Administration Senators and 11 leaders of labor (representing CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents) had powwowed at the Mayflower and pledged to work together throughout the 81st Congress for enactment of Mr. Truman's domestic policies.

2. Only the week before Labor's League for Political Education (William Green, chairman, George Meany, secretary-treasurer and Joseph Keenan, director) had launched a vicious attack on the United Electrical Workers (CIO) because they had dared to send 45 regional representatives to Washington to tell their Congressmen what they wanted. "They dared come in soiled working clothes," the League had scoffed.

A BIT OF WORRY. At the week-end resentment against those who speak up was subsiding. Labor leaders were beginning to think they had better muster their forces for a long fight to keep what they now have in the Taft-Hartley repealer.

It was conceded that the Administration bill could clear the Senate Labor Committee. The chances were slimmer in the House Labor Committee where there are more Southern congressmen.

And Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) was promising an all-out fight to restore the Taft-Hartley law if the repealer gets to the Senate floor as it stands.

Max Werner

Stalin's offer no phony; Soviets plan for peace

A FEW DAYS AGO James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, said at the National Press Club in Washington that the international situation has been improved markedly; so substantially, indeed, that the Joint Chiefs of Staff who demanded a military budget of $30,000,000,000 a year ago are now ready to accept one of $15,000,000,000.

A realistic re-appraisal of military and diplomatic facts is now being made. The war scare has vanished.

Max Werner

Walter Lippmann recently wrote that even the Czechoslovak crisis of a year ago was not a preface to military aggression. No Soviet military moves whatsoever were detected last year.

NO THOUGHT OF WAR. It is against the background of such decisive military, political and economic facts that this week's peace offer of Joseph Stalin should be evaluated.

Soviet policy has consistently favored Russia's reconstruction, long-range industrialization. For Russia's policy-makers power is above all industrial power, stability—the economic stability of their system.

The Russians act as if there were no atomic bomb and war threat in the world. They are rebuilding from scratch their war-torn cities: Stalingrad, Leningrad, Sevastopol, Odessa. They are building new dams and re-planning the city of Moscow.

These are long-term peace projects, and those who launch them are convinced that they have time, and will not be interrupted by war.

12-YEAR EFFORT. Stalin's offer to negotiate should therefore not be phony. It looks like an act in the service of Soviet security.

The Soviet Premier must measure Soviet security not by available mechanized divisions and not by the number of satellite countries. It seems that in his concept Russia can be made attack-proof only by the building of economic strength, by the development of modern industry.

This requires time: at least three five-year plans. 1948 to 1960 will have to witness the repetition of the Soviet effort from 1928 to 1940—relentless industrialization. And now, as then, Soviet diplomacy must provide cover—peace for this effort.

Certainly the Soviet leadership is not ready to interrupt and expose this gigantic reconstruction work by the strain and the sacrifices of a war. For them Soviet cities and industries are not expendable.

THIS IS BUSINESS. The Soviet peace offensive is an earnest enterprise since it is backed by military realism. A year ago, on February 23, 1948, Soviet Minister of Defense Marshal Bulganin made a speech which precisely described the substance of Soviet policy. He stated then that "good strategic and operative plans are not enough; calculation of the entire economic and morale potential is necessary."

The Soviet leadership do not intend to expose the unfinished industrial structure of their country to the risks and dangers of war. The order given to Soviet diplomacy is therefore the same which was given in the 'thirties: to avoid war, not to unleash it.

It is timely for us to remember now the toughness, persistence and energy with which Soviet diplomacy fought in the stormy 'thirties to keep Russia out of war.

Thus Stalin's offer is neither an accident nor a maneuver. It serves the main purpose and the permanent endeavor of Soviet policy. Having calculated the necessities of Soviet policy for 15 years ahead, the Soviet Premier undoubtedly means business. •

WORLD ROUNDUP

Valiant dove

HOPE for peace ran round the world last week, leaping over press wires across oceans. But by the time it left Washington, D. C. it looked badly travel-worn.

It began with four questions. Kingsbury Smith, European director of Hearst's International News Service, asked Premier Joseph Stalin whether the Soviet Union would: (1) join the U.S. in declaring that neither nation had any intention of going to war against the other; (2) implement such a peace pact; (3) lift the Berlin blockade if plans for a separate West German state were postponed pending a conference; (4) meet with President Truman.

Stalin said yes to all four questions.

Kingsbury Smith added a P.S. to Stalin. Would he come to Washington? If not where did he suggest he and the President meet?

Stalin said he had always wanted to go to Washington but "I regret that at present I am deprived of the possibility of carrying out this desire of mine, since doctors strongly object to my making any long journey, especially by air or sea." He suggested four cities in Russia or some place in Poland or Czechoslovakia. Stalin is 70 this year, Truman 65.

The speculation

SUSPECT. The press scrutinized the wording, speculated on the motives. Some analysts found it aimed at the North Atlantic Alliance. Some said it was calculated to make us pause in our rearmament and so throw us off guard.

Those who saw in it a Soviet plot failed to explain how it was hatched in four questions by a Hearst newspaperman. Last May, Stalin voiced similar attitudes in response to a letter by Henry Wallace. Then Wallace was assailed for playing into Russia's hands. None suspected Kingsbury Smith. Hearst was above reproach.

TURNING POINT. Commenting on Stalin's offer, Wallace said last week: "We are at the turning point, where we can proceed with our suicidal policy of billions for armaments and military pacts like the North Atlantic Military Alliance leading toward a conflict that no one can win—or we can accept Stalin's offer and begin to negotiate an end to the insanity of the past few years.

"The time has come for the American people to speak up against the North Atlantic Military Alliance and demand that a peace meeting between Truman and Stalin take place now—before it is too late.

"We cannot afford to let such a treaty be postponed until after the next war, when few will have survived to negotiate it."

Face or no face

CROSSROADS. Diplomats of the West seemed at a crossroads. The U.S. could withdraw from difficult positions in Berlin and elsewhere. Faltering exports could be revived by trading east of the Rhine. All this and peace too could be had without loss of face since, if one ignored Kingsbury Smith, Stalin seemed to be suing for peace.

There were indications that such a turnabout might be in the cards. The GUARDIAN on Jan. 24 reported that John Foster Dulles, foreign policy adviser to both the Republican Party and the Administration, had said, "We cannot keep up the [Berlin] airlift indefinitely."

Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.) chair-

Continued Under the Line on next page.

Gabriel in the London Daily Worker

A British view of the trial of the 11 Communist leaders.

Arthur Garfield Hays on Trial of 11

Real purpose is to make it dangerous for anyone to join Communist Party

We publish below a statement by Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, on the current trial of 11 Communist leaders. GUARDIAN hopes to bring to its readers a series of statements from different points of view on the important implications of this trial for all Americans. Next week Dr. Harry F. Ward will discuss the trial from the standpoint of labor and religious freedom.—Ed.

MANY years ago, we of the American Civil Liberties Union wrote a letter to the Communist Party in New York protesting that while they sought our assistance in their right to hold meetings, they broke up the meetings of Socialists and Mensheviks. In answer they replied in effect that, while we defended their right of free speech because we believed in free speech, they broke up the meetings of others because they didn't.

The indictments against the Communist leaders are based on the Smith Act, which was a rider to the Alien Registration Law. This rider made it a crime for people to "advocate" the overthrow of the Government by force. It is hard to reconcile the constitutional provision that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech with a law that makes pure advocacy (without act) a crime. The indictments against the Communists allege no overt acts.

Laws of this kind have always been used, and will always be used, not to punish for crime but to "get" people whose views we don't like. There could be no better illustration of this than the present situation.

NOBODY seriously believes that the Communists really advocate, in the sense of incitement, the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Our hatred against them is aroused because of our fear that in the event of war with Russia they would make a dangerous fifth column in the United States. Thus we indict them and try them before a jury of Americans in an atmosphere of hysteria and hate, not because there is any serious thought that they will be dangerous as revolutionists overthrowing the Government, but for another reason.

The Smith Act became law in 1940. The Communist Party and the men who were indicted operated quite in the open for years, yet no charges were made against them.

Some six months before the indictments were handed down, the Attorney General declared before the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress that there was no law on which any charge could be made against the Communists. Yet, probably because of a change in the political scene, these men were indicted.

THE real purpose is to make it dangerous for anyone to belong to the Communist Party. Even the House Committee on Un-American Activities reported against outlawing the Communist Party, stating flatly that this would be inconsistent with democratic principles. We are doing indirectly the very thing which we state is contrary to our principles.

To me, the most dangerous feature of Communism in the United States is that Americans are being persuaded to adopt totalitarian principles in order to rid themselves of the Communist menace. I like the old American principle stated in the vernacular. "Let 'em talk. This is a free country, ain't it!"

A good many of us still believe in the Jeffersonian doctrine:

"It is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and order."

I believe in freedom of speech, not freedom of speech but . . . I regard the trial of the twelve Communists as more dangerous to American freedom than the Communists themselves.

Northern Scottsboro

1,000 rally in Trenton to aid condemned six

TRENTON, N. J.

NEARLY 1,000 Trenton citizens attended a meeting in Moose Hall here last week, called by the "Committee to Free the Trenton Six."

"Trenton justice," which condemned as murderers six innocent Negroes picked up at random, was denounced by Joseph Squires, member of the Newark Industrial Council; Rev. H. T. Stewart of Trenton, co-chairman with Squires; and O. John Rogge, former U.S. Asst. Attorney General who is defending three of the Six in their forthcoming appeal.

Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English, one of the Six in the death house, said: "I'm learning that we've got to keep fighting to get the peace and democracy we're supposed to be enjoying."

Her words moved Paul Robeson, the last speaker, to the most impassioned and moving speech of his life.

"I know what's been done to these boys could have been done to my own boy," said Robeson. "But your presence here will show the Trenton authorities that my people have allies who will fight for them. We've come here to tell the enemies of democracy in Trenton and everywhere else that we're not staying in 'our place' any more!"

Before he sang "Joe Hill" and recited Langston Hughes' "Freedom Train," Robeson praised the GUARDIAN and told the audience that this paper first brought the case to his attention.

Jessie Campbell, New Jersey chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, announced that this was the first of a series of meetings for the Trenton Six to be held throughout the country. The next meeting will be at Newark on Thursday, Feb. 24.

Rogge series

Next week in the GUARDIAN, O. John Rogge (attorney for three of the Trenton Six) will begin a series of articles analyzing various aspects of the case, as brought out in the 6,000-page record of the trial in which the Six were found guilty of murder.

Drawing by George Korf

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

man of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said the Stalin answers held "possibilities for peace and harmony." At Lake Success Warren R. Austin, U.S. representative to the United Nations, termed Stalin's answers "a move in the right direction toward peace."

BARBED VELVET. Then on Wednesday afternoon Secretary of State Acheson met with newsmen in a State Department auditorium. The room was draped with velvet.

The Secretary's statement was bright, but all the quips were barbed. Concerning the joint non-aggression statement proposed by Kingsbury Smith, the Secretary said: "So far as a commitment is concerned, so far as the most solemnly pledged word is concerned, I had thought that we had long passed the point at which this answer seems to stick."

Asked whether Russia would cooperate with the U.S. in implementing a peace pact, Stalin had said: "Naturally the government of the U.S.S.R. would cooperate. . . ."

The nature of things

Acheson commented: "Now 'naturally' means 'in the nature of things,' and the nature of things in the past three years since the end of hostilities has not been such as to encourage the expectation of the cooperation which is indicated in the answer."

The meeting place was not an issue, he indicated. "The government of the U.S. would not discuss with any nation any matter which was of direct interest to other nations without the participation of and representation of those other nations." (Last month Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett conferred at length with the British alone on problems affecting every country in the Middle-East).

Acheson summed up: "The matter of peace is not to be tampered with."

On Thursday the President confirmed at a packed press conference his Secretary's views. He said he would not talk politics with any Russian outside the U.N. but that if Stalin should come to Washington, he would be glad to see him. Mrs. Truman would ready the guest room at Blair House at any time, the President added warmly.

COMMENT. James Reston, authoritative Washington correspondent of the New York Times, commented: "If, however, the Stalin letter is one more indication that the Kremlin is really prepared to talk peace this tim—as some other officials in the State Department suspect—then there will be some feeling here that Mr. Acheson winged the dove too soon."

Acheson's remarks, said Reston, were not to be taken lightly however casual the tone. He said, "They are about as unplanned as an international treaty."

Time to be shy

IS IT PROPER? The New York Sun headlined Secretary Acheson's story this way: "TRUMAN TURNS DOWN BID TO MEET STALIN ALONE."

At a luncheon table in Paris, the faded Premier Henri Queuille said that if Stalin wanted to meet Truman behind an iron curtain, it would be important to ask Mr. Stalin's intentions. Earlier he had said: "Of course if we can find in Stalin's statement a point of departure for consolidating the peace, all France would rejoice."

Some diplomats suggested Paris as rendezvous. The Police Commission said: "Merde! Not here!"

Also in Paris, Kingsbury Smith, the

Continued Under the Line on next page.

Round the Nation with the Guardian By-liners

Around the U.S.A., in big cities and in many towns, more and more persons are sending in reports to the GUARDIAN about things that are happening in their communities, good things and bad things, some showing progress, some showing regression, all of them revealing something about the quality of life in the United States.

As our string of GUARDIAN by-liners increases throughout the country, this department will become a weekly feature. The GUARDIAN will pay a minimum of $2 for each item or contribution included in this department.

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Chicago vets' wives open co-op nursery

By Joyce Turner

CHICAGO

A FEW veterans' wives have launched their own cooperative non-profit nursery school in Rogers Park. The nursery school gives 30 children from 3 to 5 years of age a chance to learn to play and work together with the kind of equipment you can't fit in tiny, overcrowded apartments or find on the paved city streets.

The nursery school also invites noted educators to speak to the community on child development. These lectures have brought hundreds of people into touch with up-to-date ideas of children's problems.

We have also joined with 36 other Illinois cooperative nurseries to fight for free public nursery legislation at the current state legislative session.

In every city there is room for hundreds of these nurseries. It takes practically no money, a little energy and lots of enthusiasm to start these schools.

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The kind of a ma a guy should have

By Thomas Connor

LONG BEACH, L.I.

On Tuesday, Jan. 18, I went to Washington with the Freedom Crusade as representative of the Young Progressives of Long Island. At first my mother wasn't keen on my going. I explained to her that as an American youth I felt it my duty to stand up and be counted as one who believes in civil liberties.

"Ma," I said, " you wouldn't really want me to shirk my duty, would you?" She said no, of course not. So I went.

There were hundreds of youths there, along with the older people. I'm proud of my generation because I believe that we are really setting the foundation for a better America.

GONE FOR DAY. I went with a student delegation to see the Commissioner of Education. The delegation was made up of seven youths—a white boy from Tennessee, a Negro girl from Ohio, two white girls from North Carolina, two Negro boys from Louisiana and myself.

It seemed that Acting Commissioner of Education Brixby was unable to see us. His secretary said he had left for the day.

As we left we all agreed that it would be wonderful if some day the time will come when the Commissioner of Education will find time to meet with a student delegation.

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Unemployment up in Michigan areas

By Winford Kellum

BIG RAPIDS, MICH.

RECENTLY your Report to Readers suggested that the readers themselves do a little writing for the GUARDIAN. I like that & the Lord help you, for I am going to try it, if & when I can find anything of interest & worthy.

You had an article last month on unemployment.

Ours here is about one-third and I just this minute heard over the radio that Muskegon is much worse—so bad, in fact, that the civil authorities there declare that the necessary relief roll has gone beyond the city & county finance. They are asking all church and civic groups to help in any way they can.

In this very same district, right now, they are having the greatest oil "strike" [not a labor dispute—Ed.] in Michigan history. Some wells are uncontrolled as yet. Yet the working folks are crowding the relief rolls, without food or money.

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Ghosts of '29 haunt Connecticut plants

By Barrie Greenbie
Editor, "Connecticut Progressive"

HARTFORD, CONN.

THE biggest worry facing the people in the New Year is what business magazines and newspaper columnists politely call a "slump" or "recession." But in the mills and factories of Connecticut, where a big piece of the Wall Street rearmament program has been handed out, workers talk darkly of "depression." To the growing numbers laid off or threatened with lay-offs it doesn't matter what they call it. The Ghosts of 1929 are haunting their homes.

State Labor Dept. figures show claims for unemployment compensation up 120% over those for a similar period a year ago—from 15,000 in December 1947, to 38,000 in the last week of 1948. 5,414 are jobless in Bridgeport, 4,237 in New Haven, 3,615 in Waterbury, and 3,012 in Hartford. From every industrial corner of the state come reports of new lay-offs. The New Haven Railroad announces plans for "a substantial cut" in personnel. Rumors of a shut-down of the electric blanket department have Bridgeport GE workers worried. Thousands have been laid off in brass, tool, and watch factories, with the last taking the biggest beating as watch companies prepare to import Swiss movements.

FIGHT GAS BOOST. The Peoples Party of Greenwich is opposing the petition of Greenwich Gas Co. for rate increases amounting to more than 20% for small household users. Represented by its Chairman, Dr. Harvey Tanner, Greenwich P.P. opposed the rate increase at a series of hearings in January.

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Inoculation 'socialist'—so 4 children die

By John J. O'Neil

BAY CITY, MICH.

THIS is a conservative, rock-ribbed Republican saw-mill town which has gone to seed under the guiding hands of the retired lumber barons who butchered the region's timber resources. No problems of the profane world outside have troubled the complacent calm of the city fathers. Taxes are moderate; there are no race problems; and everyone of consequence is free, Protestant, and Republican.

Two months ago a Director of Public Health was hired from a metropolitan center. He advised the free inoculation of school children. The uproar which emanated from the moldy holes of the County Medical Association was deafening. The citizens were advised by the men of medicine that we were not to be subjected to the tyranny of socialized medicine. The City Council reprimanded the Public Health Director for his rash and heretical statements.

WARDS OVERFLOW. Two weeks ago a virulent form of diphtheria broke out in the primary schools. Several schools were closed as parents panicked. The local free-enterprise medical society sprang into action, and fell on its face.

A State-sponsored epidemological unit had to be called in. Four children are already dead. The contagion wards are overflowing.

The only laborite in the City Council denounced the local medical society as negligent, incompetent, and un-Christian. We are still assured by our conservative city fathers that socialized medicine is a plague worse than death. The labor unions, however, have sworn to unseat every graybeard on the City Council next spring.

We're on the air

BALTIMORE

THE Progressive Party of Maryland began a weekly radio program Saturday, Jan. 22, at 8:45 p.m., using commissions from NATIONAL GUARDIAN subscription sales to pay for the radio time. The show's commercials invite listeners to join the Progressive Party and to subscribe to the GUARDIAN.

First broadcast featured George Lorrie, guitarist-singer and Progressive Party official, along with Dr. John E. T. Camper, P.P. Congressional candidate last fall. In addition to a general presentation of the Progressive Party legislative program, state and national, the broadcast opened an attack on the proposed Ober Bill now before the Maryland state legislature, which would impose Mundt-Nixon type witch-hunt legislation on the state.

The Jan. 29 broadcast dramatized what life in Maryland might be under the Ober Bill, declaring that it would "turn neighbor against neighbor" and turn the "free State of Maryland . . . into the first fascist state of the country." Listeners were invited to join a March on Annapolis Feb. 10 to oppose the bill.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

INS man who started it all, was busily denying that he had acted at the suggestion of the State Department. Smith said that for years he had been sending questions to Stalin.

Italian officials said that "a meeting between the two men is always something to be wished."

"No turning back"

ALARM. The reaction of British officials was described this way by the N.Y. Herald Tribune correspondent: "They admitted belief that Mr. Truman had been put in an awkward position and acknowledged fear that Mr. Stalin might agree to go to Washington to see the President. The thought alarmed them."

Herbert Matthews, writing from London to the New York Times, said: "Whatever official sentiment is ascertainable concerning Premier Stalin's soft words can be summed up in the phrase: 'There can now be no turning back.' "

Johannes Steel, writing to GUARDIAN from Washingon, said that the door was not tightly closed; that Washington officials might well want such an opportunity to call off cold hostilities, but not until the North Atlantic Pact had been signed.

The Atlantic Pact

THE Atlantic Pact was discussed everywhere; but in most places people were asking just what it meant.

It seemed to be a military alliance of Western Europe and the U. S. But the language hedged commitments so that it was unclear whether the U. S. was indeed committed to anything but a sentiment. If it worked it would serve to establish the Rhine as a U.S. frontier to be held by the troops of Western Europe until reinforcements could be brought up from overseas.

Max Werner, GUARDIAN's military analyst, wrote: "The pact now under discussion offers a weakened Western Europe a military policy beyond her strength, means and intentions. As a defense barrier the Rhine is even weaker today than the Maginot Line was in 1940. . . . The North Atlantic Pact concept stems from a two-way misunderstanding; while we are preaching military self-help to the Western European countries, they do not believe in self-help and would like to rely on U.S. help and U.S. help only. . . . The North Atlantic Pact constructs a strategic case which is both improbable and untenable."

NORDIC DOUBT. Some such thought might have been in the minds of Scandinavian diplomats who met in Oslo, early last week. Norway—the only Scandinavian country on the Atlantic, and possessing also a common frontier with the U.S.S.R.—plugged for the Atlantic Pact.

Sweden, a grimly determined neutral, favored a compromise pact for Scandinavian countries alone. Denmark was undecided, cheered by Sweden's tentative step away from dead center, alarmed at Norway's westward plunge.

Russia asked Norway whether her adherence to the pact would require the leasing of bases to Western powers. The query was described in the U.S. press as a "thinly veiled threat."

The talk in Oslo

RISK, NOT SECURITY. But before Norway's Prime Minister Halvard Lange (right-wing Laborite) replied, he listened to voices within Norway itself. Nic Waal, prominent Norwegian psychiatrist, wrote to GUARDIAN from Oslo:

"The reaction to the Atlantic Pact was intense in Norway. Defenders of the pact argued that Norway and Denmark would not get weapons from America if they stayed neutral and did not join the pact. . . .

"On the other side were important representatives of the university, the director of public health, many teachers, the radical opposition in the Labor Party (in power), and the Women's League for Peace and Freedom. They not only wrote against the pact but held large meetings. They argued that the Scandinavian countries must represent the link between east and west.

"To become a member of the Atlanti

Continued Under the Line on next page

W.E.B. Du Bois on Negro History Week

'The white folk have a right to be ashamed'

The artisan and the Governor of Virginia **Charles Keller**

Anti-slavery petitions **Leona Pierce**

Disciples of John Brown

THERE is in Washington a large brown man with crisp hair, whom few people know, but who has miraculously made the United States of America at least once a year notice and say something about the history of the Negro race in our country.

This miracle has been accomplished by Carter G. Woodson. He edits and publishes, and has published for two decades, **The Journal of Negro History.**

He has done this almost single-handed, because no respectable foundation, no matter how many millions it has, is going to entrust a Negro with funds, unless it is sure he will do exactly what it would like to have done.

This assurance Carter Woodson has always refused to give; and therefore, while now and then a foundation has given him a driplet of aid, it has soon been withdrawn on the pretext that Woodson is a person with whom you cannot get on.

LEST WE FORGET. Nevertheless, his idea of celebrating Negro History Week during the week which comprises the birthdays of Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and by assumption that of Booker T. Washington, has become a national habit. Indeed it is a little difficult to escape it.

Even a Southern Bourbon superintendent of education in Mississippi cannot exactly forbid the Negro schools from recalling the Negro's history. He may see to it that they get no books for the purpose which are "subversive," and that no radical is invited to talk to them; but nevertheless the celebration goes on.

Then too, such a celebration as this can form a present means of escape among Northern white people who do not want to take too obvious a stand on the Negro problem. Instead, therefore, of saying anything about lynching, or the poll tax, or the FEPC, they can simply "celebrate" Negro History Week, and the form of the celebration and its content can be pretty carefully controlled.

But the control has not worked very effectively, and the celebration of this day for the last 20 years or more has made millions of people familiar with a history that they would prefer to forget.

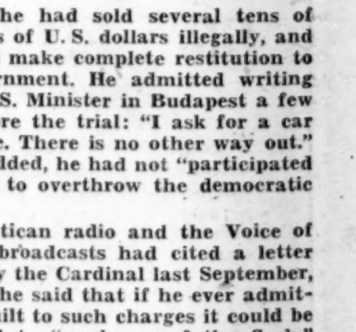
WHITE SHAME. White folk are ashamed of the history of the Negro in America, and have a right to be ashamed.

They do not like to remember that the Declaration of Independence was an open and clear lie, when it was made, because there were 700,000 Negro slaves in the United States at the time.

We prefer to tell our children that the Civil War was fought to abolish slavery, when as a matter of fact even Abraham Lincoln would have been willing to compromise on any terms, including the perpetuation of slavery, to keep the nation in one union.

After the Civil War (we like to say) we tried to give the Negro the vote but he was too

> Negro History Week, which opened Feb. 6, has been chosen by the Voice of Freedom Committee for the start of a nationwide drive to put a Negro news commentator on one of the four big radio networks. VOF is circulating a poll to select one out of 17 potential candidates for whom it will concentrate the fight. The organization points out that of 30,000 persons presently employed in the radio industry, only 200 are Negroes and most of these are in menial positions.



Underground railroad fording a st

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

Pact meant actively to link Norway to U.S. war politics, meant acceptance of U.S. policy in China, Greece, Italy, Spain. America would not be bound by such a pact. It would mean not security but risk. . . ."

Nic Waal concluded her report: "I feel happy because it seems to me that some of the faculty to think begins to awake. It is interesting that the 'socialistic' government gets its best support from the business world and conservatives whereas the masses and the Marxist-schooled intellectuals become unified again (i.e. as they were during the Nazi occupation)."

No bases

SOFT ANSWER. Halvard Lange's answer to the Russian query was mild. He said that Norway would allow no foreign bases on her soil "as long as Norway is not attacked or subjected to threats of attack."

Western Europe was crystallizing into constellations of all shapes and sizes. Earlier in the week England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg announced with press flourishes that the Council of Europe had come into being. Portugal (an unpublicized dictatorship tied closely to Britain) would soon be invited to join.

Each nation would send delegates to a parliament of the Council which would debate all issues. Decisions would be taken in secret sessions of a Ministerial Council, composed of the foreign ministers of the several countries.

The Mindszenty trial

IN BUDAPEST a much publicized political trial was in process and the mood was somber. The principal defendant was in the black garb of a Roman Catholic priest. He told the court he was "Archbishop of Esztergom, Cardinal and Primate." He declined to use his title of Prince of the Church.

He was Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, charged with conspiring with a Hapsburg prince and with Americans to supplant the Hungarian republic with a revived monarchy.

Reporters for U.S. news agencies said the Cardinal looked well, that during his 40 days in jail he did not seem to have lost weight. He showed no signs of maltreatment.

CALVARY? Before the trial began, the Cardinal sent a letter to the court, saying that he wanted to "admit before the trial voluntarily, to have committed the deeds I am charged with. . . . After this admission on my part I do not think that it is absolutely necessary that I be tried."

He offered to work for peace between the Vatican and the Hungarian government if his trial were dropped. The bishops, he said, would be free to cooperate with the state. (The Hungarian bishops had already called upon government officials to say they were leaving the trial of the cardinal "to the wise discretion of the Hungarian Government.") The judges ordered the trial to proceed.

The Cardinal pleaded guilty to all the charges of black market currency deals. He said he had sold several tens of thousands of U. S. dollars illegally, and offered to make complete restitution to the government. He admitted writing to the U. S. Minister in Budapest a few days before the trial: "I ask for a car and plane. There is no other way out." But, he added, he had not "participated in a plot to overthrow the democratic regime."

The Vatican radio and the Voice of America broadcasts had cited a letter written by the Cardinal last September, in which he said that if he ever admitted his guilt to such charges it could be attributed to "weakness of the flesh."

On Friday the Cardinal calmly told the court: "Now I want to state that I see things differently from then when I drafted this letter, and I want to repeat what I said yesterday—that I regret my error. I want it to be considered that this letter is null and void."

The Vatican took no notice of the Cardinal's offer to cooperate with the Hungarian State, or of his confession. A Vatican spokesman said: "So begins the second Calvary of Cardinal Mindszenty."

Bud Handlesman

Together we'll win — Roy DeCarava

ignorant to use it. Celebration of Negro History Week is likely to show that this is a curious exaggeration if not again a flat lie. In all the long struggle to rationalize the color-caste system in the United States, we would like to point to progress, when as a matter of fact we have to admit continuous failure.

ONE WHO DARED. But here is a case where truth bids fair to make us free; where despite the machinations of the Devil and his angels, we are beginning to know the truth about the American Negro, to get acquainted with the books that have been written expounding that truth.

Slowly it is being hammered into us that the greatest failure of America has been to reward the laboring class, which made this country worth building, by making them the footstool of its greed and oppression; and that indeed it is only very recently that any man dared stand up and emphasize this fact.

We must recognize the fact that Carter Woodson, above all Americans, is one who fastened the attention of America upon Negro history. And there could be no greater celebration of his work than to have one of our rich and aimless foundations give him enough funds to pursue his career, without poverty and pain.

g a stream — Jacob Lawrence

People's art

"To develop an art which is meaningful to a growing audience, to remove art from the category of 'collector's items for the well-to-do' and restore it to the people at prices they can afford" is the aim of a group of artists organized in the Workshop of Graphic Art, 106 E. 14th St., New York City. The prints shown above are reproduced from a new folio of prints just brought out by this art co-operative to commemorate Negro History Week.

Antonio Frasconi, Robert Gwathmey, Charles Keller, Jacob Landau, Jacob Lawrence and Charles White are among the artists who contributed the 26 prints in the set. The folio sells for $2. Mail orders are 15c extra.

Brooklyn by-election

Minneola Ingersoll is out to pull 'another Isacson'

By Robert Light

THIS week in New York's 7th Congressional District (downtown Brooklyn) doorbells are humming as they haven't hummed since canvassers used elbow-grease, shoeleather and facts to push Leo Isacson into Congress in the Bronx a year ago.

There's a by-election in Brooklyn on February 15. Democrat Louis Heller and Republican Francis E. Dorn are running for the vacancy caused by the death of John Delaney, Democratic incumbent since 1920. Democratic stalwarts are warning their followers to go to the polls come hell or high water, because—

"Ingersoll may pull another Isacson."

BROOKLYN CAN PROVE IT. Minneola P. Ingersoll (ALP) is the third candidate for the Congressional vacancy. This will be the first Congressional election since November in which progressives will have the opportunity to show their strength.

"The Progressive Party," says Mrs. Ingersoll, "is the party of the future, to be sure. But it is also the party of the present—and we intend to prove it."

Democrat Heller, a State Senator and district party leader running with Liberal Party endorsement, has announced that he is for Pres. Truman's program "right-down the line." Dorn, a Republican Assistant Attorney General, has attacked Truman's "passive attitude toward communism in China."

The ALP designated Mrs. Ingersoll because of her long record of work with labor and civic groups. She was one of the organizers in the great steelworkers drive in 1936. As organizer for the women's auxiliaries of the United Steel Workers, she became the first woman on Philip Murray's staff.

MINNEOLA INGERSOLL

FOR THE PEOPLE. Later, while working at Hull House, the internationally famous Chicago settlement, she served as secretary for the Citizens Committee for Adequate Medical Care.

With her husband Jeremiah Ingersoll, former publisher of the magazine **Salute**, and her two children she came to Brooklyn in 1946 and immediately became active in progressive circles. She was one of the organizers of PCA in New York and a delegate to the founding convention of the Progressive Party.

At present, her time away from home is spent as co-chairman of the Kings County (Brooklyn) ALP and chairman of the Women's Division of ALP.

WHAT THEY WANT. She is conducting her campaign as a housewife, a role she prefers to that of civic leader.

"The Truman Fair Deal is a fair deal only for the munitions makers," she says. "The people of Brooklyn, like people elsewhere, want adequate housing, lower prices and a guarantee of civil rights."

Mrs. Ingersoll is certain that "where the issues are so clearly defined, the people will turn out in force." But she is not making any rash predictions.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Planner Truman

LAST Tuesday evening the President dropped in after dinner at the National Planning Association. He had no speech prepared and no notes. As he spoke he seemed a humble man wrestling with vast problems dimly seen.

He spoke of the nation's past depressions, which he said nobody ever understood. He spoke of his job: ". . . kissing the people on the cheek in order to get them to do what they ought to do without getting kissed."

He said: "We plan cities now and towns. But when we talk about planning the things we want to do economically we are charged with being Communists and fellow travelers." He thought that perhaps people who called such names were "thinking of controlled economy, not planned economy. The distinction is different, if you analyze it closely."

When he was through he smiled wearily and said: "I wish I could stay longer, but I have to go back and put in four more hours to make up my 18 hours."

Congress week

CONGRESSIONAL activity was still mostly confined to committees last week. No major legislation had yet reached the floor of either House or Senate for the final showdown of counting the votes.

On the last day of January the Administration offered its pay-off on its biggest campaign promise: to kill the Taft-Hartley Law. The Truman bill was a little more than many had expected, a little less than many had hoped. (See John Stone, Page 3)

For one thing, it ended the skirmishing over the one- or two-package strategy. Late in the week the CIO accepted the measure. Their chief counsel said: "It appears that the bill offers the only practicable method of obtaining speedy Taft-Hartley repeal and re-enactment of the substantive provisions of the Wagner Act."

"TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL!" Southern Senators seemed to be getting their way in their fight to stave off any change in Senate rules that would end the filibuster. To the resounding echo of threats to tie up the whole Administration legislative program with a filibuster to save the filibuster, the Senate Rules Committee voted to delay further action for a week.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) had told the committee that he "hoped" it would "consider all the implications of trying to bring up this rule amendment at this time."

He went to the Old Testament for a war cry to rally his Southern bloc for a do-or-die battle. Following the adjournment, they were smugly confident that Democratic leaders wouldn't risk a Senate tie-up. Democratic leaders were doing little to prove them wrong.

HUSH ON THE PUMPKIN. The Un-American Committee, under the new chairmanship of John S. Wood of Georgia, held its first meeting and tried to take the edge off public criticism of its methods: it promised that henceforth its hearings will bar radio recorders, newsreel cameras, television broadcasters and news photographers.

It also announced that it will ask an appropriation of $200,000, the same amount as last year, indicating no slackening of activities. It appointed a 3-man subcommittee, 2 Democrats and 1 Republican, to meet with Attorney-General Clark. Subject of conference: secret.

How many bombs?

KNOW-HOW FOR OBLIVION: Congress received a 5th semi-annual report from its Atomic Energy Committee. Highlights: the United States is now engaged in peak production of the most destructive types of atomic bombs.

Some thought this news called for cheers. Others felt like weeping. The report settled over the country like an uneasy conscience.

Congressmen weren't concerned with the ethics of their nation's pre-eminence in destructive power. They had a different quarrel: how secret should atomic secrets be?

Continued Under the Line on next page.

New German nationalism

U.S. is building 'a Nazi dam against fascism'

By Emil Carlebach

FRANKFURT

"I'M proud of being called a Nazi by my opponents," said Friedrich Knoering, leader of the German Rightist Party, a few weeks ago during the election campaign in Wolfburg (British Zone). Shortly afterward Knoering and his party captured 17 of the 25 seats in the Wolfburg city council.

A member of the Nazi Party since 1928, Knoering appeared before the Denazification Court in the British Zone, was labeled a "fellow traveler" and set free. While he was a prisoner of war, he had oriented himself toward Dr. Schumacher's Social Democratic Party, but soon after his return to Germany he switched to the Rightist Party, took up whiskey distilling and became a candidate for "Fuehrer."

Here is another typical quotation from him: "Join us in protecting the honor of our soldiers, who in the last war, as before, only performed their duty bravely and obediently. Soldierliness has nothing to do with militarism or its deterioration, both of which we reject as being un-German."

CALL TO ARMS. In the U.S. Zone, the counterpart of the Rightist Party is the National Democratic Party. Seventy-year-old Dr. Leutgens, who founded the party, received a good deal of publicity from the U.S. Military Government in 1946 when he called for "a Germany military force after the English pattern."

Daily Express, London

"... and don't forget the mothballs, Lise"

Leutgens has since been pushed into the background by his more active successors in the party. Today the leadership of his party demands the reconquest of Upper Silesia and East Prussia by force, as well as the return of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. Military Government was startled by the demands but not enough to outlaw this Nazi movement.

Call them what you like—National Democratic Party, Rightist Party, German Bloc, Republican Freedom Party—some day they will all melt into a new Nazi Party unless a decisive change takes place.

THE OLD GANG. Behind these parties stand the armament kings Reusch, Kost, Dinkelbach & Co., who, under the Ruhr statute, will be the only Germans to have influence on Europe's armaments industry. Also behind these parties are the judges and public prosecutors of West Germany, 70 to 80% Nazi, who try anti-Nazis and release Nazi leaders.

Leading the way and shielding these parties is the occupation's widely advertised anti-bolshevik crusade, which blesses their repetition of Nazi phrases and politics. Jewish cemeteries are desecrated, and workers' meetings are broken up by paid rowdies.

The Nazi generals Halder and Guderian (after having been cleared along with Dr. Schacht by the Denazification Court) are propagandizing in the U.S. Zone for World War III which is to be won on a coalition of American weapons and German soldiers.

ADVICE FROM CANADA. The almost 1,000,000 circulation of the Neue Zeitung—the German language newspaper of the U.S. Military Government—refreshed the West-German mind on the theories of the Nazi big shot, Otto Strasser, who said that a new war couldn't be anything but advantageous for Germany, even if 5 to 10 million Germans perished in it.

Strasser's life has been very ambiguous. After a quarrel with Hitler he left Germany and as early as 1934 became a secret service agent for the British. Now he lives in Canada, which differentiates him from other Nazis like Gunter d'Alquen, who lives in the U.S. The professional rivalry between the American and British secret services makes Strasser's return to Bizonia somewhat difficult, but he corresponds enthusiastically with his friends in Germany, giving them directives for the struggle against democracy.

BACK TO 1929. Junkers, generals and armaments leaders—that unholy trinity—have resurrected and promoted neofascist chauvinism in West Germany.

Only a child, or a political adviser of the U.S. Military Government, would be surprised to find that, under such conditions, with Hitler's anti-bolshevik slogans once more in full currency, the Nazi way of thinking is being strengthened in the minds of West Germany.

Thoughtful Germans have come to the conclusion that General Clay and his political adviser Robert Murphy are building the same sort of dam against fascism as Hindenburg and Hugenberg did 20 years before.

Reorienting Austria to death

(Special Correspondence)

THIS week the Council of Foreign Ministers' Deputies of the Big Four powers will start trying again, in London, to reach agreement on a peace treaty with Austria.

Nearly four years after the end of the war Austria is in such an economic mess that there is little or nothing to provide a basis for healthy development.

Austria had $285,000,000 worth of Marshall aid from April, 1948, to April, 1949. Here is the result: Taking 1937 as 100, the index of raw material and semi-finished goods production was 144 in 1948. The index of consumer and finished goods production was 66.

DUMPING COTTON. These figures show how the Marshall Plan is reducing Austria to the status of a raw-material-supplying colonial country. "Re-orientation to the west" means sacrificing those industries which make for the country's independence.

Austria before the war depended largely on the export of finished goods to countries now "behind the Iron Curtain." Austria needs agricultural products from Hungary; the Balkan countries need Austrian finished goods.

Trade in both directions, while lately it has increased somewhat, is a trickle compared with what the economy needs.

The latest development in comic-strip trade relations is that Austria will import grain and meat from Hungary and pay for it with U.S. cotton delivered to Austria under the Marshall Plan. This is one device by which U.S. cotton interests unload their surplus.

By exporting finished textiles, matches and other "aid" to Austria, the U.S. is forcing that country to close down its own industries producing the same items.

TIMID CRIES. Living conditions are deteriorating in all zones. Shops are crammed with goods of all kinds, but the average Austrian cannot afford the fabulous (yet legal) prices. The government makes no attempt to control anything except wages.

The government is a coalition of the People's Party (inheritors of the pre-war Dollfuss-Schuschnigg party, backed by right-wing industrial agrarian interests, which paved the way for Hitler), and the Socialists. The Socialists are the junior partner in the coalition; fear of Austria being "people's democratized" keeps them in harness. But with an election due in the fall the Socialists are now, for the first time, gently criticizing some aspects of the Marshall Plan which is resulting in such widespread misery.

POKER GAME. The Four-Power Kommandatura in Vienna, similar to the one that blew up in Berlin, works fairly well. There are friction and disagreement, but everything seems to get cleared up without major conflict. It is like a careful poker game in which no player crowds his luck or tries to bluff.

One reason for this is the geography of the country itself.

A map reveals the enormous strategical importance of Austria: it juts far into the "Iron Curtain" regions with no natural barriers or protections, like a hermit crab without its shell. Not even a small river defines its boundaries with the new governments of Eastern Europe.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

Sen. Brien McMahon (D.Conn.), chairman of the committee, thought "the time has come" for the United States to tell the world how many atom bombs it possesses. Others, like Sens. Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) and Tydings (D-Md.), thought that such questions shouldn't even be asked out loud.

Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, thought the Atomic Energy Committee had revealed too much already. "Why is it necessary," he demanded, "to blah-blah to the country about these bombs?"

Housing action

HOUSING HOPES. The Senate Banking Committee finally got around to preliminary action on housing legislation. A subcommittee headed by Sen. Sparkman (D-Ala.) began hearings on half a dozen bills already submitted.

Raymond Foley, speaking for the Administration's 1,050,000-unit-in-seven-years housing bill, told the Committee that 6,100,000 non-farm housing units already fall below minimum health standards. He pointed out that 29.8% of non-farm families in the U.S. earn less than $2,000 a year. (Total number of families earning under $2,000 a year was 40% in 1946.)

Sen. Flanders (R-Vt.), sponsor of a GOP bill calling for 600,000 units in six years, was frankly incredulous. "Incomes as low as that," he said, "are just incredible to me. I want to know why these people get that way; who they are and where they are."

The House Banking Committee was to begin hearings Monday on the Administration bill to extend strengthened rent controls. Chairman Spence (D-Ky.) said that a movement of Tulsa landlords to withdraw their rental property from the market may force Congress to write a ban on mass evictions into the bill.

Farmers rally

LAST week buses were bumping across the plains from the Dakotas, the Rocky Mountain States and Montana, carrying farmers to Washington. Caravans were to come to the capital each week-end, and before the end of the month 800 people were expected.

They were members of the National Farmers' Union, an organization of 650,000 men who work the small and independent farms called "family-farms."

They were coming to ask their Congressmen for full parity. Parity adjusts the farmer's prices to his costs according to a fixed standard. In Congress,

proposals offered 90% parity, 60% parity or "sliding parity" which means no price floor at all. Rightwing organizations of large-scale farmers have indicated willingness to settle for 60% parity.

NFU spokesmen last week said: "We're for farmers 100%. Other organizations are for farmers only 60%."

PROGRAM. The farmers' delegates will also ask their Congressmen to vote for river valley authorities (like the Tennessee Valley Authority); the St. Lawrence Seaway; effective anti-monopoly legislation; real civil rights; and national housing, health and education bills. They will ask them to vote against military conscription and any compromise with the Taft-Hartley statute.

Winter wheat

PLENTY LOOMS. Back home the snow lay deep on the farmers' land and it was still bitter cold. Beneath the snow the ground was moist and the winter wheat promised to come to a record crop.

The government was buying up wheat at less than 90% parity and its warehouses were almost filled. Farmers wondered where they could put their

Continued Under the Line on next page.

This is the story of a park —and the spirit of a people

By Ralph Parker

MOSCOW

IT lost many of its trees in the cutting cold winter of '39. During the war its cast-iron railings went to feed the furnaces, and were replaced by unsightly rusty bedsteads propped against crude lengths of rail. Its benches rotted. The lake silted up. Only a few old folk clung to the habit of visiting the park, formed by a broadening in the boulevard that had replaced old Moscow's white outer wall.

The change began with the return of the children. They had learned country ways in evacuation. There were few to tend them while the factories continued to keep most of Moscow's housewives on long shifts.

WAR GAMES. They played partisans among the trees, dug slit-trenches on the lawns, sailed toy boats on the pools made by the thawing snow. They brought shrillness and clamor back to the park to compete with the clatter of the street-cars that lurched past.

In 1946 the aircraft industry's switch-over to perambulator construction changed the appearance of the park. In 1947, when Moscow celebrated its 800th birthday, there was a good deal of slapping-on of paint along the boulevard. To the noises of the park were added the soft and liquid songs of Ukrainian girls working on the scaffolding. Teams of volunteers assembled in the evenings to dig out the lake and line its banks with stones. The kids gave up their war-games and started playing volley-ball in summer, skating on the frozen sidewalks in winter.

HOT DOGS AGAIN. On Dec. 24, 1947, an 80-foot Christmas tree appeared in the middle of the frozen lake, brought in from the countryside near Ryazan. It was hung with hundreds of tiny gold and silver lamps and was topped with a ruby five-pointed star. A rosy-faced Santa Claus stood in the snow at its foot. Twice a day the ice was swept by a motor-plow.

In 1948 all Moscow's principal newspapers resumed their practise of appearing posted on boards in the park. At one end, where the subway station is, a street-market opened. The sellers, in regulation white overalls, traded fruits, Caucasian candies, hot-dogs and ice-cream. Food was again off the ration.

Sovfoto

Skating in the Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow

The park grew quieter in the summer when most children from the quarter left the city. One began to notice a new feature, the dogs—some of them, like their owners, back from abroad. Wolf-hounds, predominantly, but with a growing population of Scotch terriers.

KIDS AND COPS. But the vegetation of the park remained ragged and thin until last fall, when, in one of those sudden drives that give the Soviet capital its characteristic rhythm, it was invaded by exuberant bands of Young Communist volunteers organized by Moscow's Green Trust.

Away went the rusty fence, and close planted shrubbery took its place. Rotting stumps were blasted, birch, willow and spruce, and tiny ornamental evergreens were planted. A prefab building to house the administration of the skating rink was run up in a couple of days.

Something has happened to the kids, too. It isn't the presence of a cop with the power to impose summary fines that has brought about the change. Moscow's cops can't move very fast in their ankle-length winter-coats, and most of the kids are on skates anyway.

Some would say that it is an attitude peculiarly Soviet that is making these children keep the new rules about respect for trees and lawns—something that stems from the fact that they and their parents participated as volunteers in planting them.

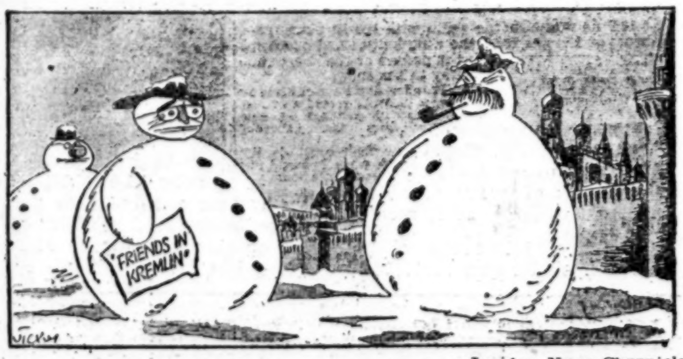
FAMILY OUTINGS. This has been a singularly mild winter—and this and the fact that Moscow is warmly clad this year are keeping the park filled. For the first time since before the war, the Muscovites have time to stroll.

You don't see many of those busy little men with briefcases under their arms who used to hurry to the subway. You see many more housewives and young matrons, now that shopping is easier. On Sundays, essentially a family day in Moscow, there are always crowds around the dog-trainers. High-ranking officers and civil servants who might have qualms about pushing a pram do not hesitate to pull their children along on light sledges.

JUST LIKE ZOE. During the ten-day Christmas holidays, school children were let on the ice free. Most of them get boots and skates at low prices through sports organizations. The girls are wearing their hair in looped plaits this year, like the partisan girl Zoe Kozmodemyanskaya in the movie. Very few skate in skirts, most wear loose-fitting trousers with wind-breaker jackets or knitted sweaters. On Sundays there are rarely less than 2,000 young people on the rink.

The story of the park, its passage from deserted shabbiness to a place of simple joys, is in essence the recent story of Moscow. This city's achievements, like those of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, need to be measured against the recent past if one is to understand the spirit of optimism that infuses its life.

RALPH PARKER, former Moscow correspondent of the "New York Times," is now correspondent in Moscow for the "Daily Worker" of London.



London News Chronicle

Weather: Continued cold; thaw hoped for.

Stalingrad — 6 years ago

THE Battle of Stalingrad, turning-point of World War II, ended six years ago last week. Of interest to antiquarians—and possibly to others—are the things leading Americans said about the Russians at the time:

"I don't think enough can be said in praise of the Red Army."—**Harry S. Truman.**

"We have just witnessed one of the decisive battles of all time. We are allied with Russia in the fight for freedom. We are proud to call the people of Russia our friends."—**Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson.**

"The defense of Stalingrad will be something for the whole world to remember as an extraordinary test met by human beings with a devotion seldom seen."—**Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.**

"The struggle and victory of this army has been an inspiration to those who do not know the spirit of the Russian people."—**Sen. (now Vice-President) Alben W. Barkley.**

Said British Tory leader **Anthony Eden**: "The heroic city is a legend for all freedom-loving people."

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

spring crop and what prices they could get.

Such abundance was no promise, but a threat, to farmers and legislators. On Wall Street knowing economists watched commodities drop on the market. One called it an "avalanche."

Only cotton resisted the plunge; it dropped slowly. The middling farmer, the middling manufacturer faced a slow squeeze.

Trial on trial

THE system of hand-picked juries was still the only topic at the trial of the 11 American Communist leaders in New York. The defense has tried to prove that both grand and petit jury panels have been filled with wealthy persons; that Negroes, Jews and trade union members have been excluded; and that such juries are not representative under the laws of the nation.

Last Wednesday, Harold I. Cammer, an attorney appearing in behalf of the Fur and Leather Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers (all CIO), asked permission to file a brief and argue on the jury question.

Judge as lawyer

On the same day the Judge met in his chambers with a delegation of seven CIO organizers and local officials. The judge recalled that before he ascended the bench he had defended a union official named Joseph Fay on the grounds that the jury system could not grant him a fair trial. "I feel the same way and have the same thought now as I did when I had the Fay case," he said.

COINCIDENCE? During the trial Medina has repeatedly pointed out that, though there may be an evident disproportion in favor of the rich, the defense had not yet proved that the exclusion of others was deliberate.

To the unionists the Judge said: "I can understand the concern of working people on this important question."

Few labor leaders had understood that concern enough to make any move in a case heavy with foreboding for their organizations. These were the first unionists to seek to enter the case actively.

AN END TO CHARTS. Professor Doxey Wilkerson, head of the faculty of the Jefferson School of Social Science and former dean of Howard University Law School, presented charts and tables to prove the overwhelming predominance of the rich among panel members.

Marcantonio on stand

On Friday Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) took the stand. The poor predominate in Marcantonio's district in East Harlem, but its southern fringe crosses into the silk-stocking district. Few of his constituents are called for jury duty, Marcantonio said, and of these, within the past three months four came from a single apartment house on the swanky border.

Rents in that house range from $28 to $40 a room, he said.

The judge adjourned court half an hour early, explaining: "I'm getting weary. I plan to go away for the week-end to recuperate."

Civil rights rally

CAPITOL HILL was bracing itself for another mass delegation of citizens petitioning for civil rights. This one aimed primarily at segregation and discrimination against Negroes. It was sponsored by a group of individuals including Dr. J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks; Lester Granger, co-executive secretary of the National Urban League; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Elmer Benson and C. B. Baldwin (chairman and secretary of the Progressive Party) Carey McWilliams, Rep. Vito Marcantonio and Perry Howard, National Republican Committeeman of Mississippi.

Progressives were expected to pour into the capital this Friday and stay through Lincoln's birthday on Saturday. Their object was to persuade Congressmen to carry out Lincoln's unfinished business of emancipation.

Wallace, Robeson, Marcantonio, Finley and Howard were scheduled to speak.

LIVING & LEISURE

Evil in the air

Go to sleep, my daddy dear, and I'll slit your throat

By Fritz Silber

CHILD psychologists may debate the effect of radio horror-thrillers on our youth until progressive education freezes over, but they'll only get the DT's.

In the dim dawn of history, some learned Neanderthal probably tried to figure out why his prodigy hung around the artist who scratched nothing but cheap murder yarns on the cave walls. Later, the sachems must have tossed with worry when adolescent braves and squaws crept up to the medicine man's wigwam to hear the latest installment of incantation against evil spirits.

TAKING my nine-year-old daughter to a neighborhood movie on a recent Saturday afternoon, I discovered the "Goods" and the "Bads"—today's simple designations for heroes and villains. "There go the Goods!" would come the sharp whisper next to me, along with a violent elbow-poke in the ribs. "They're the Bads!" was the hoarse warning as the bandits rode off with the loot from the stagecoach.

A few days later a long school vacation began. At home it signaled the opening of a dizzying daily round of radio murder, robbery, blackmail, dope-smuggling, jailbreaking and, of course, the heroic detection and apprehension of criminals responsible for same.

Late one afternoon, when I had been drawn into the magnetic field of a murder drama that held my daughter in rigid attention, I made a serious mistake. "I think Stanton did it," I shouted above the din. The idea was to show up the whole deal as a fraud which insulted the intelligence of any nine-year-old.

Ten minutes later Stanton was absolved, the killer had been brought to book, and my daughter was explaining with disdainful patience just why Stanton couldn't have done it. I sneaked away to work on the income tax.

THEN came the evening when I triumphantly carried home a newspaper with this headline:

Boy Denied Radio Thrillers Kills Two Women

Also Wounds His Half Brother Because He Had to Wash the Dishes Instead.

As I laughingly tore my daughter from the radio and forced her to the supper table, I showed her the story. She was quite calm about it. She said that she listened only to murders, and not to "thrillers." She agreed that the unfortunate boy had been victimized.

But amid all the controversy, I hold one final piece of evidence for which any child psychologist would give a patient's eye-tooth. I found it in my desk, tucked away in my daughter's notebook, during the peak of the vacation radio craze. It is given here exactly as it appears in a child's printing, except for casual variations in the size of the letters:

MURDER STORIE

"The Crooks and the Young Beauty"

Once there was a little baby born. It's father was a crook and so was the mother. She grew up like a beauty and was not a crook. Her father loved to steal things but was scared to when Beauty (her name) was born. He wanted to kill her but did not. Because she got tough. She loved to go to dances but her mother was jelous of her. But she forced her mother to let her go and did. Her father started to love her and she turned into a crook herself and started killing everybody she saw. She even

KILLED her
FATHER! who
was a crook!

THE END

The fight to keep the schools and church separate

Dr. Glenn L. Archer is Executive Director of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, an organization endorsed by all major Protestant denominations and individually by numerous Jewish leaders and Protestant bishops and clergy. This article is condensed from Dr. Archer's speech before the National Conference of Church and State, held in Washington 10 days ago and ignored by most of the press.—Ed.

By Glenn L. Archer

WASHINGTON

TODAY in 30 states Roman Catholic schools and teachers are being paid expenses and non-taxable salaries from the public school treasuries. Undue pressure is being exerted to receive Federal aid for parochial schools by direct grants from the Federal Government.

The opening wedge in this area is illustrated by free textbooks and bus transportation in 17 states. These services, however unobjectionable in themselves, mark the beginning of the breakdown of church and state separation, which will ultimately lead to social domination and thought control.

IN the Santa Fe, New Mexico, litigation — commonly called the Dixon Case—the defendant sisters and brothers testified in open court and under oath that they had taught the Catholic religion in tax supported public schools; that they had received salaries from public funds; that such funds had been endorsed directly to the Roman Church; and that they taught to public school children, without regard to the student's or the parent's faith, that the engagement in religious activities other than Roman Catholic constituted a sin.

This practice continues throughout the nation in violation of State and Federal Constitutions. The Judge in the Dixon Case, holding generally for the plaintiffs, stated: "There is no separation of church and state under these circumstances."

America is opposed to the Government's playing religious favorites. The Vatican is for it. "Authoritative Catholic teaching" condemns the separation of church and state; rejects the American concepts of religious liberty; and denies that "every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true—guided by the light of reason."

IN Roman Catholic dominated countries today, non-Catholics worship—if at all—at the sufferance of the Roman Catholic Church.

Protestants and Other Americans United share the conviction aptly expressed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Everson vs. Board of Education" Case: "We have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation between state and religion is best for the state and best for religion."

We believe with James Madison and Thomas Jefferson: "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

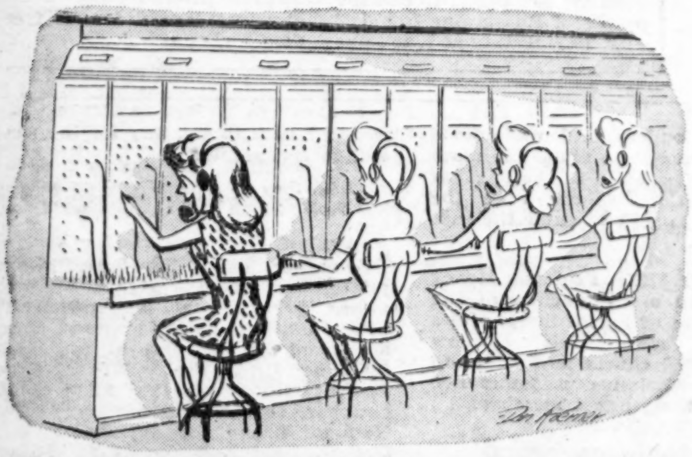
THIS organization will join hands with our Roman Catholic brethren in an honest effort to enhance the spiritual and ethical values of our religious tradition. We will cheerfully and unceasingly fight for the rights of every creed and faith to worship as it sees fit.

We say, let every church stand upon its own feet! Let it flourish or perish in the spiritual and moral competition provided by our Constitution in this broad domain of freedom. Let every church support itself by its own resources through voluntary gifts of its members. But let no church raid the public treasury to propagate its sectarian beliefs.

To publicly support sectarian education in a country of 257 faiths amounts to the development of 257 parallel parochial school systems, creating a hodge-podge of competing educational systems. The result will be destruction to public education and a devastatingly divisive condition which will spell doom to American democratic culture.

In order to achieve our objectives and fulfill our mission, we propose to launch a campaign to raise $1,000,000, to be spent over a three year period to enlighten and mobilize public opinion in support of religious liberty.

Can you spare a few million nickels for the phone magnates?



"Two dollars on Party Line in the second at Hialeah? Deposit eight quarters, please."

THE American Telephone and Telegraph Co., biggest and richest monopoly in the U.S., is feeling blue and needs more income to ward off poverty. In 29 states it has applications pending for rate increases that would boost its annual take by $245,071,000.

The phone company will be in bad shape if it doesn't get what it's asking for. Since 1946 it has received increases in only 41 states amounting to an extra income of only $170,064,000 a year. In 1948 it finished up with a mere $50,000,000 more profit than it gleaned in 1947.

With wire-tapping now thrown in gratis, surely the country's 31,000,000 phone subscribers can do better than that by old AT&T.

JUGGLERS. The monopoly structure of AT&T is so complicated that it took the Federal Communications Commission three years and a million bucks to find out how it operates. Two of the big factors are the 21 Associated Bell companies—the telephone firms that handle state or regional set-ups and in turn control sub-subsidiaries—and Western Electric, which handles the manufacturing of equipment.

The stock in these enterprises belongs to AT&T, so there is vast juggling of profits, expenses, "depreciation," "service" charges and other tricks of the bookkeeper's trade. Everything goes from one pocket into another, always out of sight of the consumer who pays the bill.

However, the consumer—you—is not nearly so helpless in this situation as the phone company might wish. Rate increases have to go through Public Service Commissions (one of the penalties a company pays for monopoly privileges). The process gives consumers a fine opportunity to yell their heads off.

RUMBLES IN N.Y. In New York State, where the company wants a 10% interim and 15% permanent rate hike, it faces a stiff fight.

During the first two weeks of hearings a half dozen communities, including such staunchly conservative bailiwicks as Cortlandt, Gloversville and Oswego, told the state PSC the rate boost would be "improper, unwarranted and premature."

The Communication Workers of America, headed by Joseph Beirne, came along to blast the phone company's argument that higher wages make higher rates necessary. "Last year," Beirne said, "wage increases to telephone workers totalled $93,000,000. Yet the company has already admitted boosting rates $170,000,000 a year, almost double the pay hikes they granted."

A 1940 rate-hike hearing in St. Paul, Minn., illustrated one expert's statement that "intercompany bookkeeping has become a fine art." It was found that property valued by the company at $17,000,000 was worth only $8,500,000, while earnings reported at $909,000 actually amounted to $1,700,000.

FIGHT WITH FACTS. No statistics are available showing how many Telephone Hour listeners are lulled into an intermission trance when AT&T's propagandist starts his patter about the wonderful service and the nasty rising costs.

But there is a secret for busting the propaganda line wide open. It is contained in a detailed Fact Sheet issued by the Progressive Party, 39 Park Av., New York City. Secret of balking the higher rates, says the Progressive Party, is consumer pressure on the state Public Service Commissions which must decide on fair rates.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Low-cost Cottons

FOR the first time since OPA controls were removed, women are able to buy good-looking cotton dresses for less than $10. Rayon dresses have been reduced too, but not so sharply as the cottons.

One leading designer, Henry Rosenfeld, has already brought out an early-spring cotton broadcloth at $8.95 in a classic button-front style. Other classics at moderate prices include **Jonathan Logan** (juniors), **McKettrick, Kay Whitney** and **Betty Hartford.**

FOR DRESS-UP TOO. Cottons have always been recognized as sturdier, washable, easier to care for than rayons. But too many women still view them as suitable only for house or sports wear. Actually cottons are finding increasing style acceptance for

street and even dress-up wear. For one thing, every year since the war they've been more widely available in darker colors. The Rosenfeld $8.95 dress, for example, comes in toast, wine, grey or royal.

WATCH FOR THE LABELS. In shopping cottons, look for a smooth, non-fuzzy finish, and a close, even weave in the material. If the dress is not labeled "preshrunk," and the store won't guarantee it against shrinkage, better allow for 5% shrinkage or skip that particular dress altogether. If the dress is merely labeled "preshrunk," with no indication of how much shrinkage you can expect, allow for 2% additional shrinkage. Insist on a guarantee of colorfastness if there is no label to that effect.

No Time for Television

WITH 16-inch video sets at close to $400 due to hit the stores soon, it's most unwise to pay $300 or more for a set with a ten-inch screen. Other improvements upcoming also suggest waiting. Dealers themselves know the present small sets at high prices are not good value; they're hastening to unload them by

cutting prices sharply. Even chains and large stores that ordinarily do not give discounts now offer 20% off on tele, and many smaller stores are giving 25%. If you do buy a set now, insist on getting the discount.

Retail Price Cuts Lag

FOR the information of consumers and trade unions: there is a wide lag between retail and wholesale price cuts. There have been some reductions in store price tags on foods, but they by no means match the price cuts in the wholesale markets. One business authority points out that wholesale-market food prices have fallen 32% from last summer's peaks, but the cuts at the distributor level average only 9%. In New York, for example, it was pointed out last week that retail egg prices are averaging 25 cents a dozen more than the wholesale charge; usual differential is 10-15 cents.

Trends and Tips

HOUSEHOLDERS: no need to carry your home fuel-oil tank filled to capacity this year. Supplies are heavy and a price cut is expected soon, in addition to the usual warmer-weather discounts. . . Sears Roebuck's **All-State Auto Insurance Co.** is now approved by most state insurance departments; its rates run 15% below those of the stock companies and compare favorably with net costs of the large mutuals. . . A new type of furniture polish called **Lyk-Nu** comes in different colors to match finishes like maple, walnut, mahogany. Its chief value is that it helps conceal scratches and nicks.

Shopping Question

HOSIERY: "What is the best buy in nylons? I want to send a dozen pairs to a niece in England where they are still hard to get."

—R. S., Glendale, Calif.

Best type to buy for durability and usefulness for most occasions is the service sheer: 45-gauge, 30 or 50 denier. Best brands to buy for value are the private brands offered by large department stores, mail-order houses, shoe chains and the variety stores like Woolworth and W. T. Grant. Get several pairs in the same shade, so if one rips the remaining stockings can be matched.

The theatre

Is the Madwoman mad?

By Lawrence Emery

IF IT CAN be satisfactorily shown that stockbrokers, promoters and chairmen of boards of directors are responsible for the wretched state of the world, then they should be removed from it.

That is a dangerously subversive notion. It is the central theme of the most satisfying Broadway play of the current season, **The Madwoman of Chaillot.**

The Belasco Theater on West 44th St., where it is playing, has not been raided. Perhaps that's because the play was written by a Frenchman—one of those subtle Latins who know how you can say such things and get away with it.

Jean Giraudoux wrote it in 1943 when the Nazis occupied Paris and the stink of fascism pervaded his country. He died in 1944, but prophesied that the play would be produced in 1945—and it was.

Drawn for N. Y. Herald Tribune

"The pimps rule the world," says the Ragpicker (John Carradine). The Madwoman (Martita Hunt) decides she has a right to kill them—and does so.

MAD TEA-PARTY. The Madwoman herself is the most engaging zany in the country today. She withdrew from the world around 1904 and wasn't at all aware that things had gone quite to hell since then. She gets an inkling of it when she overhears a group of big money men plot the destruction of Paris because they are convinced that under the city is a priceless lake of oil.

Full enlightenment comes when a group of her friends—a waitress, a flower girl, a rag picker, and a wandering juggler—tell her the facts of life. Pimps, the rag-picker tells her, have taken over everything; they have prostituted the whole earth.

"Why didn't you tell me this before?" the Madwoman demands. She proceeds to set things aright. Summoning a group of mad lady friends, she has a tea-party considerably wackier than the Mad Hatter's at which her course of action is plotted.

DOWN THE DRAIN. Anyone, particularly a Madwoman, can hold a trial if only the formalities are observed. So the flower girl and the waitress and the juggler and a policeman and others are summoned to be court and jury, and the rag-picker amiably agrees to take the part of the accused who cannot be present in person. The most hilarious trial in the history of the theater is rowdily enacted—and it is all the more hilarious because underneath the humor is a savage indictment of our present-day society.

Once the inevitable verdict of guilty is rendered, it is easy enough for the Madwoman of Chaillot to lure the stockbroker and the promoter and the oil prospector to her basement room with kerosene as bait. And once there, she consigns them to a bottomless sewer-hole from which there is no escape.

HAPPY ENDING. With these wretches gone birds sing again, flowers bloom, the sun shines and happiness returns to the people.

"There is nothing wrong with the world," observes the lady of Chaillot, "that can't be set straight in the course of an afternoon by a sensible woman."

And the audience is left to decide: Is she really as mad as she looks?

ASP preview

THE Arts, Sciences and Professions National Council played a smart hunch during rehearsals for the post-holiday Broadway season and booked a preview of Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman" as a benefit for the night of Feb. 9 at New York's Morosco Theater.

Arthur Miller is the author of "All My Sons" and the novel "Focus." His "Death of a Salesman" opened late last month in Philadelphia, and the toughest critic heralded it as " an infinitely moving and bitterly splendid play—a triumph of the craft and magic of the theater and a first-rate work of dramatic art."

The NCASP office, 49 W. 44 St., has been doing a fine business with ticket orders at the benefit $15 top ($4 top balcony). But there are some left.

New movies

Reviewed by
Harold Salemson

FROM time to time the GUARDIAN will present capsule reviews of new films by Harold Salemson, for many years a Hollywood correspondent and critic for papers here and abroad, and author of the Federated Press column "Show Business."

COMMAND DECISION: Absorbing drama of heavy-bomber strategy during World War III, with strong anti-war feeling—even though the forceful message of the play has been toned down. Recommended.

CHICKEN EVERY SUNDAY: George Seaton, of **Miracle on 34th St.** and **Apartment for Peggy,** tries his hand at another light-touched whimsy, and does not do a bad job, though less successful than the others. Acceptable.

ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON: The nostalgic play that was successful on Broadway and in its first film version, and then made over again as **The Strawberry Blonde,** reappears in musical dress. Mildly entertaining. Acceptable.

ACT OF VIOLENCE: Robert Ryan and Van Heflin in a meller about Los Angeles and a GI's search for revenge. Smartly directed by Fred Zinnemann but not quite strong enough in its driving theme. Take it or leave it.

FORCE OF EVIL: John Garfield does his best, but this expose of the numbers racket falls down pretty badly in the writing and directing. For its good intentions, and nothing else, it is barely acceptable.

ENCHANTMENT: Sam Goldwyn may call it the most beautiful love story ever told, but we think you'll find it as unenchanting as we did. Don't bother, despite Teresa Wright, who is good even here.

WHIPLASH: A sub-product of **Golden Boy,** with the fighter a painter in this one instead of a musician. The preview audiences laughed at it, rather than with it, and theater crowds are doing the same. Skip it.

THAT WONDERFUL URGE: Remake of an old Fox film that was rather funny the first time, but falls pretty flat now. Skip it.

Not so new but heartily recommended: **Hamlet (British), Symphonie Pastorale (French), An Act of Murder, The Snake Pit, Johnny Belinda, Woman Hunt, César (French), The Boy With Green Hair, Red Shoes (British).** . . .

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

THE People's Institute of Applied Religion, founded by the Rev. Claude Williams of Tennessee during years of fighting race prejudice and exploitation in the South, finally set up headquarters in Evansville, Ind. From here, in the years before Pearl Harbor, Claude and the ministers joined with him in the Institute carried their "good news" into the North. Claude was invited to Detroit in 1941 for a labor conference.

X. The face of priestly religion

Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.—MARK

THE sprawling city of Detroit, where all the conflicts of the nation were intensified and in clearest focus, had become the front-line of the production war against world fascism at a time when America's very existence depended on the people's ability to work together in unity.

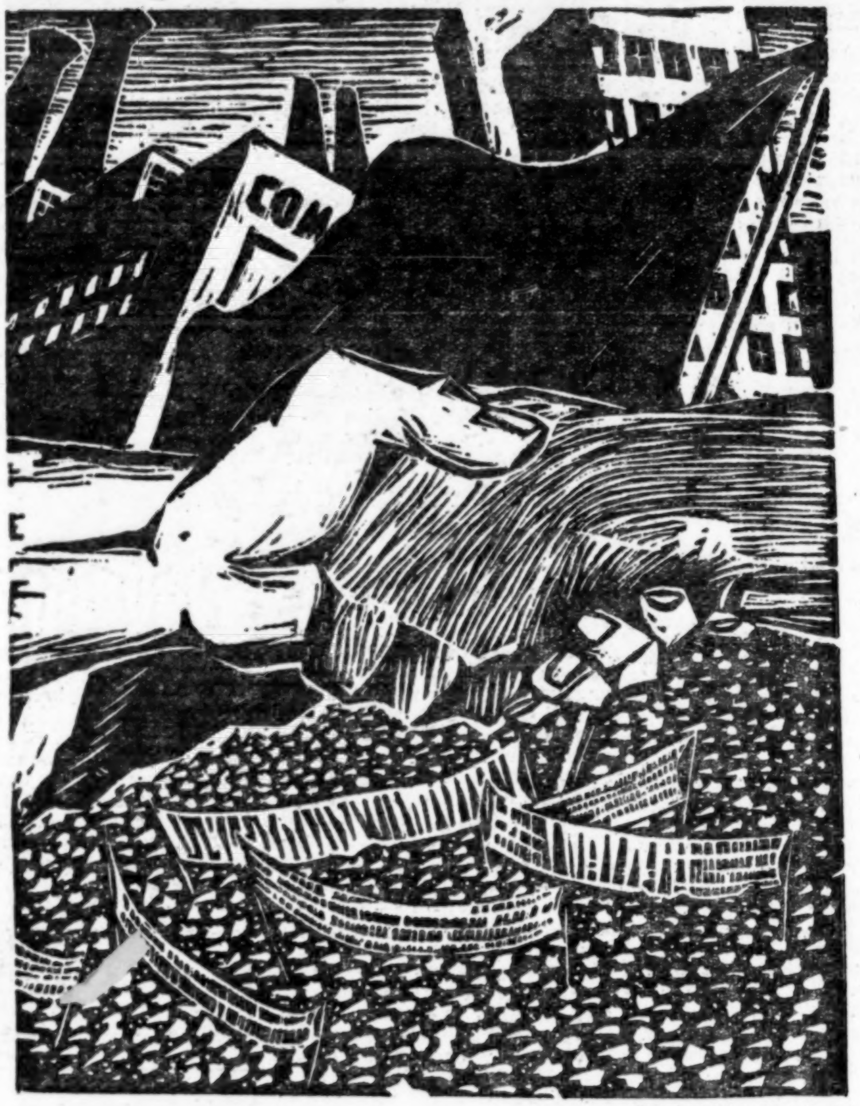
At the invitation of the Professional League for Civil Rights, Claude paid his first visit to Detroit in the fall of 1941 as one of the main speakers before a conference of professional and labor leaders. The potential dynamite in the relationships between Detroit whites and Negroes was immediately obvious to him, with his understanding of the background.

By the outbreak of the Second World War there were 200,000 Negroes in Detroit, with the most militant leadership that had been thrown up by the colored people anywhere in America. By the fall of 1941, tens of thousands more had arrived. The city administration had done virtually nothing to accommodate them. Abandoning the hollow pretense of paternalism, they had fallen back on a bankrupt policy of shaking the big stick and warning their colored citizens to be submissive. The overcrowding in Paradise Valley had become so great that two and even three Negro workers working on different shifts were often compelled to occupy a single bed in relays. Real estate owners were fattening on the profits from decayed buildings in which one room of a five-room flat rented for as much as the whole flat could fetch in peace time. The Negroes, earning good wages for the first time in their lives, were denied the living standard to which the money should have entitled them. And each week hundreds more were arriving, piling up in an angry and explosive heap within the immovable walls of their prison.

IN clear words Claude warned the Civil Rights group of the dangers ahead. Now that the industrial concentration points were becoming crucial in the war effort, he said, demagogues would try to undermine them by reaching the rural elements as they had done in the South — through the medium of false religion. Forces were already at work to make Detroit the hub of world reaction and the living proof of Goebbels' declaration: "Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody revolution in America, for no other country has so many social and racial tensions." The preachers to whom the rural people looked for guidance had been organized by the Ku Klux Klan in the South and they would be organized by the forces of reaction in Detroit.

Early in 1942 the first explosion occurred, with the completion of the Federal Government's belated contribution to the housing crisis — the Sojourner Truth Negro housing project. Tenants trying to enter the project were set upon by white demonstrators with knives, clubs and guns, and many were seriously injured.

So effective an issue was anti-Negro prejudice for the fascist groups that followers of Father Coughlin marched in the white picket-lines together with members of the pro-Nazi National Workers League and the traditionally Catholic-hating Ku Klux Klan.



Graphic Workshop Print

United Labor **by Antonio Frasconi**

The story of the first battle of Detroit was broadcast to the world from Berlin and Tokyo on the morning after the riot, Sunday, March 1. The Axis propagandists needed nothing more to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the democratic cause to the people of China, India, Africa and Latin America.

ON that same Sunday the preacher from Tennessee, visiting Detroit for the second time, was delivering a challenge to the forces of organized religion in a forum at one of the city's principal Negro churches. Claude had arrived in the city at the very time on Saturday when the riot was in progress. He told the gathering of churchmen and laymen that they were already in the midst of a crisis which put religion to the test. It was time for every man who had not despaired of the Church to decide what true religion was and what it implied.

After the forum at the Negro church, things began to happen fast to Claude. He found he had won the enthusiastic support and enduring friendship of the Presbyterian minister Henry D. Jones, director of the Dodge Community House for folk living in the factory district, who had served as chairman at both the Detroit meetings where Claude had spoken. Jones was a tall, genial, energetic, intensely sincere Welshman who had always believed in taking religion actively into social fields. He was in touch with every important liberal movement in Detroit.

Determined to see that Claude was set right with the Church of which they both were ministers, Jones made it his business to infect other members of the Detroit Presbytery with his own enthusiasm.

IN the fall, Claude received at his Evansville headquarters the Presbytery's invitation to come to Detroit for six months.

It was a strange and moving moment in the preacher's stormy life. After all the years as a semi-pariah, the position he had taken was vindicated with the Church whose principles he loved and whose actions he had so often and so bitterly criticised.

The preacher's first move as the Presbytery's Industrial Chaplain was to form a working alliance with Miles and Hill, the Negro preachers who were already using the Institute methods.

In cooperation with these men, Claude began setting up machinery for reaching and influencing the factory preachers. The approach to them was to be based on the simple premise that the economic factor was the determining factor in the modern world. Since housing, food and justice were the people's primary needs, and the Bible was the most direct way of reaching the people, the task was to take from the Bible as true religion all that went toward these things and to discard all else as false.

THE other part of the job was to smoke out and expose the false religion with which the demagogues were misleading the people.

The religious fascist demagogues ranged all the way from the Catholic Father Coughlin, who from his palatial Church of the Little Flower issued undiluted Nazi propaganda under the sign of the cross of Jesus, to street-corner fundamentalist lay preachers of the type Claude had known in the South. In between were a variety of Bible spellbinders who had established themselves as pastors of various mass and off-brand churches in the city.

Such sermons were being carried over the principal radio stations of greater Detroit, in some forty weekly religious programs, to those who could not hear them in the spellbinders' large and prosperous churches.

The fact that these ideas also corresponded with the interests and aims of Germany and Japan was no more evidence of treason, in the old-fashioned sense of the term, than was the divisive and defeatist propaganda circulated by French industrialists and their political spokesmen before June 1940.

It was merely evidence of the natural affinity of the privileged who supported fascist movements in every country in the world.

THE six months for which he had been hired were almost up, and a decision had to be reached as to his reemployment. Most of the Presbytery members seemed favorably disposed toward him, but some were antagonistic, fearing that his forthright methods would get the Church in bad odor in the community. In the discussion, Claude immediately took the offensive.

"I know what the developments are likely to be in Detroit," he said, "and if I am to continue this work my position must be clarified now, before the shooting starts. I know that when the first race riot or labor disturbance happens, and I identify myself with the people, the cry 'Communist!' is going to go up. There are forces at work to bring about race riots and labor disturbances, and these things are going to happen. But I have come to the point where I refuse to be fired any more as a 'Communist.' If I am going to be fired it has to be for some solid reason. Unless we can reach an understanding about this, it would be better to close the discussion of my continuing the work here."

Assured that he need have no fears on this score, Claude enthusiastically accepted the Presbytery's offer to continue as their industrial chaplain.

FINAL INSTALMENT NEXT WEEK

Pumpkin eaters

"It is necessary that we do it [world planning] or else go back to the ninth century. And we can't afford to do that." — President Truman, Feb. 1, 1949.

GUARDIAN's researcher, assigned to investigate ninth-century conditions to which we shall return if we don't "world-plan" Truman style, came up with one consoling fact. In the ninth century "pumpkin-eaters" who were also cliff-dwellers and basket-makers, and who cultivated the soil with bare hands and pointed sticks, dwelt in the southwest portion of our land. That ought to make at least some folk feel at home when the clock turns back.

At that period, however, the great mortician industry was very much in its infancy. The inhabitants of the northern Mississippi valley conscripted labor to build elaborate burial mounds and urns for mortuary purposes. The people of the plains wandered aimlessly about with portable tents, doing a bit of hunting and pounding pemmican when the mood was on them.